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The old Soldier revisiting the scene of
his early struggles.

BY NELZER GARNER.

A weary way I yet once again
My foot print marks this holy soil;
This—this, the consecrated plain,
Where patriot hands by painful toil
Did Freedom's curfew altar rear—
"Tears here our outworn army stood,
With lip compressed and brow severe,
When Freedom's sun arose in blood!

The hand of time hath marked my brow,
And I have felt the icy chill
Of age upon my heart; but now
My pulses leap with wilder thrill
Now I can feel as then I felt,
And all I saw again can see;
And kneeling here as then I knelt,
Am all that then I prayed to be!

Strange visions come, on rushing wing,
To bear me to the battle back,
And I can see the war-horse spring
Forward again, as when his track
Was marked with blood—and though my eye
No sound can catch that speaks of strife,
My veiled comrades, gathered here,
Seem round and near me as in life.

'Twas like a glorious vision, seen
Through the dim vistas of a dream,
And I caught the hope of freedom then,
Come like the ignis-fatens gleam;
Now through the clouds of war it shone
Like a bright star-beam seen afar,
'Twas closed the cloud—the vision gone—
Defeat and death had hid the star.

The cloud hath passed—the glorious sun
Of Freedom, lights our pleasant homes!
'Tis so the work was nobly done,
'The swelling shout of triumph comes
Down from our mountain's craggy sides—
Up from each green and quiet vale!
O long as ocean rolls its tide
My freedom's bugles repeat the tale!

Lead forth your children to the field—
Tell them where flowed the patriot's blood—
Show where the hostile squadrons wheeled—
Where Freedom's little phalanx stood!
Did them with bright perfume flowers,
To deck the martyred patriot's grave;
And let our monumental towers
First greet the eye from o'er the wave.

Tell them, our bright example, caught
By countless thousands o'er the main,
The tyrant's vessel there hath tumbled
In bitterness to know his chain—
And that the day is hastening on,
When Freedom's flag here first unfurled,
Shall wave above earth's fallen thrones,
And its bright stars shall light the world!

Tell them what earnest prayers were said,
For father, in bitter, lover, cherished,
Tell them what bitter tears were shed
Upon the graves of those who perished;
That all in vain those anxious fears,
If they forget the work we wrought,
That all in vain those bitter tears,
If they keep not the price thus bought.

Did poetry with words of fire,
The painter's art, the sculptor's stone,
And music's life-inspiring lyre,
Tell how the glorious prize was won!
And when you pour the cheerful health
The world's faces all have come,
Tell them the proudest man on earth—
A patriot! strikes all tides dumb!

Thus shall each youthful heart be made
A shrine of Freedom, and the flame
Here first upon the altar laid,
Be nourished by the patriot's fame,
Thus nourished, every cottage home,
And every woman's heart, shall be
A temple where the oppressed may come
To light the torch of Liberty!

Hartford, Conn., July, 1834.

"Ay," said the old veteran, "I was in the revolution-
ary war. I have come to this town to spend the last
fourth of July that I ever expect to see. I have come
to spend it on the spot where, when I was a boy,
I fought for my country. I have come to take
a last farewell of Butler Hill."
"You walk as if you were very tired, my old friend."
"I am tired, I have walked four or four miles this
morning, and am very weary."—[Boston Morning Post,
July 4, 1834.]

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Democracy of Massachusetts have en-
tered upon the present campaign with an un-
usual degree of spirit and enthusiasm. Their
convention, at Worcester, was the largest ever
held in the State—and its proceedings were
marked by extraordinary ability. The Ad-
dress, from the pen of G. W. Osgood, late
Member of Congress from Essex District, is a
most argumentative and convincing document
—and contains such a full and complete vic-
tication of the measures of the administration,

that we are induced to lay it before our readers
at full length, believing that we cannot furnish
them with more agreeable or useful matter.—
Eastern Argus.

ADDRESS.

Fellow Citizens:

We congratulate you upon the auspicious cir-
cumstances under which we are called to address
you. The returning prosperity of the country
brings with it the assurance of a corresponding
triumph of democratic principles. Whatever
hopes of success may have been entertained by
our opponents, they are doomed to disappoint-
ment. All the political changes that can be
effected by an appeal to the interests, the fears
and the passions of men laboring under misfor-
tune are now fully accomplished. The storm
is blown over. The elements of commercial
enterprise and activity which have been mad-
dened into discord by the tempest, are sub-
siding into repose. All apprehension and alarm
are disappearing with the causes that produced
them. No noon-day procession now attests the
anticipation of distress. No midnight
revel celebrates the orgies of approaching ruin.
The evils of the specie circular are vanishing.
The terrors of a depreciated currency are for-
gotten. And the Sub-Treasury itself, now in
full operation, is found to oppose no obstacle
to the flood of prosperity flowing in upon the
country.

Let us take advantage of the occasion to in-
quire into the causes of our late embarrassments
—to review the measures recommended and
adopted by the administration to relieve them,
and cast a glance into the future, to discern as
far as we are able, the consequences that will
result from the avowed policy of the govern-
ment. The clamors of faction are dying away,
and the still small voice of reason will be heard.
We have bowed almost in silence to the tem-
pest. It is now our turn to speak.

The removal of the public deposits from the
late bank of the United States, was the signal
for one of the bitterest political contests, that has
ever been waged in this country. Not that that
measure was in itself so obnoxious, as to
have drawn down upon the administration all
the denunciations of which it was made the
occasion. For if the removal had been accom-
panied by a declaration that the deposits would
in due course of time be transferred to the
keeping of a new national bank, many patriotic
declarations on the violation of the Constitu-
tion and of chartered rights would have been
lost to the country; and Mr Biddle and
his bank have sunk together into oblivion.
But when it was discovered that the removal
was a blow aimed not merely against the exist-
ing national bank, but against the establishment
of any similar institution, war to the knife was
proclaimed against the administration. The
friends of Mr Biddle took advantage of the crisis
to endeavor to extort from the country a re-
character of his bank. Many, who were neither
friendly to him nor to his institution, but who
sincerely believed that the country could not
prosper without some institution of the sort,
despairing of the accomplishment of their object
in any other way, now enlisted under his ban-
ner. Whilst the desperate politicians of the
party caring neither for Biddle's bank nor any
other bank farther than it could be made the
instrument of their own aggrandizement, were
ready to seize upon any ground of opposition
that promised them a return to power.

No sooner, then, were the deposits removed
than the country was filled with prophecies of
impending ruin. Already, it was said, the
symptoms of a commercial death were upon us—
that confidence was gone, credit undermined,
business everywhere at a stand, prices rapidly
falling, and that soon the revenues would be
cut off and the Treasury be bankrupt. It was
even gravely proposed in Congress to reduce
the salaries of all the officers of the government
on the ground that the amount of the circulat-
ing medium of the country would be seriously
diminished by the measures of the administra-
tion.

Whatever may have been the motives for
raising these alarms, the inevitable consequences
too fatally followed. When the public were
taught to believe that prices were declining, and
that the value of all property was about to be
reduced from a deficiency in the circulating
medium, it was natural that they should look
about them, for means to supply this deficiency.

The multiplication of banks was the most
obvious remedy; and accordingly they sprang
into existence in every part of the country.—
Many friends of the administration deceived by
this false alarm, and mistaking the effects of a
sudden panic for a permanent reduction in the
amount of the currency, were willing to lend
their aid to any measures that promised to re-
lieve the country from evils, which they feared
had been brought upon it by their own policy.
Our opponents, partly the dupes of their artifices
and still more, urged on by an insatiable thirst
of gain, everywhere incorporated new banks to
fill the imaginary vacuum, to be created by the
withdrawal of the capital of the national bank,
while Mr Biddle himself, like the king of the
winds, sat in his marble palace, now blowing up
and now contracting his bubble currency, as
might best add to their terror and confusion.

Here was the beginning of all our subsequent
difficulties. The extraordinary expansions of
the United States Bank made with a view to
political influence, had previously given an un-
warranted stimulus to business throughout the
country. The panic excited on the removal
of the Deposits, hastened and aggravated the
commercial revulsion, that would have inevi-
tably followed this expansion, even if the removal
had never taken place. In the midst of the
distress, an alarm was raised that the currency
was about to be diminished by the measures of
the administration. This alarm, seconded by
the real contractions of the bank, and by the
bold declaration that it must go on contracting
at the rate of two millions a month, till the ex-
piration of the charter led to the establishment
of new banks, and the extension of bank issues
under the idea of supplying a deficiency in the
amount of the currency; and then followed
those scenes of over-banking and over-trading,
which ended in the prostration of the monetary
institutions of the country.

The accumulation of a large surplus revenue
soon added its influence to causes already in
operation to bring about a suspension of specie
payments. This accumulation had long been
foreseen by the sagacious eye of General Jack-
son, who called upon Congress to reduce the
revenues to the wants of the government. It
was not to be supposed that the banks in which
the revenue was deposited, would let it idle
in their vaults. But they had undoubtedly
loaned much of it on insufficient security, and
to those who could not command the means of
payment at the maturity of their notes. The
whole country demanded some legislation re-
specting it, by Congress. Some declared that
it was unsafe in the banks—others, cried out,
that it was all locked up in their vaults, and that
it must be made the basis of discounts and be
loaned out to relieve the pecuniary wants of
the country. At any rate it was a good oppor-
tunity to strike a blow at the deposit banks,
and our opponents did not neglect it. They
who saw the ruin of the country in the removal
of only six millions of dollars from the United
States Bank, could now see nothing but un-
mingled good in the sudden removal of nearly
forty millions from the state banks.

In the meantime the rage for speculation
was increasing; and had reached a degree of
insanity to be equalled only by the South Sea
bubble, or the dreams of an El Dorado, where

The molten silver
Runs out like cream on cakes of Gold;
And Rubies
Do grow like Strawberries.

The public domain attracted the attention
of speculators, and its rich acres were rapidly pass-
ing into their hands in exchange for bank notes.
It was an operation injurious alike to the Na-
tional Treasury, to the interests of the states in
which the lands are situated to the banks them-
selves, who were thus enlarging their circula-
tion beyond the means of its redemption, and
finally, to the morals of the community. The
President saw all these evils, and determined
to exercise his constitutional power to remedy
them. The result was the Specie Circular.—
But, though this measure had a tendency to
stop speculation, it could not save the banks
themselves from the consequences of their im-
prudence and mismanagement. The crisis
was now approaching. The distribution act
was producing all the evils that were predicted
from its passage. No prudence and sagacity in
its execution could avert its inevitable conse-
quences, the embarrassment of the banks, and
the pressure upon their debtors. Other cir-
cumstances conspired to increase the difficulties.
The fire at New York, had annihilated millions
of commercial capital. The great staple of
the South was falling in value in Europe, and
Exchanges were setting against us. The pay-
ment of cash duties increased the demand for
money, and finally, a run upon one of the de-
posit banks gave the alarm. In a moment
the whole superstructure of our paper money
system crumbled to its foundation.

But whatever events immediate or remote
may have caused the catastrophe, its origin
must be sought in the unsoundness of the system
itself. Bank paper was, in the first place,
nothing more than a certificate of so much gold
or silver deposited in the vaults of the bank.—
The money was always ready to answer to the
paper. Such were all the old banks in Europe
previous to the eighteenth century. After the
revolution in England of 1688 a new order of
things arose. The expensive wars following
upon that event involved the nation in debt, and
led to the establishment of a bank, upon the
credit of the government. The nature of bank
paper now underwent a total change. Instead
of being simply the evidence of so much specie
deposited in the bank, it was converted into a
promise of the bank to pay the sum expressed
in specie. It was then no longer money or the
representative of money, but merely a bank
promise. The individual who gets a loan at a
bank exchanges his own promise for the promi-
sory notes of the bank. Both promise to pay
in specie; perhaps neither of them has it.—
The foundation of the whole banking system,
then, is based upon commercial credit. The
solvency of a bank depends upon the solvency
of its customers. Instead of representing mon-

ey, bank notes represent, so far as the they
represent anything, the property, the goods,
merchandise, and estate of the bank's debtor.
But they are also used as a circulating medium.
And here lies the difficulty. So far as they are
merely representations of property they might
be safely multiplied to any amount not exceed-
ing its actual value. Considered as a part of
the currency, the question is wholly different.—
The very fact that they represent property leads
to their over-issues as currency. For while the
bank is thus made secure against ultimate loss,
the temptation to over-issue, arising from the
profit on the circulation, is too strong to be re-
sisted. We have just enumerated some of the
circumstances that led to the late over issue.—
Let us now look to the measures recommended
by the administration after the explosion.

Two courses were open to its choice—either
to recommend the establishment of a Na-
tional Bank, or the separation of the government
from all banks. We leave out of view the state
bank system, as that has now few friends to
require notice. The recommendation of a Na-
tional Bank, as a regulator of the currency,
must have been founded on the supposition,
that there is something either in the nature and
constitution of such a bank itself, or in its man-
agement, to remedy the evils of the present
banking system. But as it never proposed to
establish such a bank upon any other basis than
that of the present banking system, it would be
difficult to discover anything in its constitution
to remedy the evils which would be inherent
in itself. It would be a bank of discount; and,
therefore, like all other banks, be founded on
commercial credit. It would then, like them,
be subject to commercial fluctuations, and panics;
and, like them, be constantly tempted to over-
issues. Is the remedy to be found, then, in the
management of such a bank? Let the twenty
two years suspension of the Bank of England
answer that question. Let the country banks
broken by hundreds under her regulation an-
swer it. Or, if the opinions of enlightened men
are preferred to facts, we have them on the au-
thority of a journal which cannot be accused of
hostility to a paper currency. "Mr Tooke,
Mr. Nisbet, Sir H. Parnell, Mr. Joplin, and
many other writers of great authority, have, as
we think, demonstrated that in each of the oc-
currences of sudden fluctuation in the value of
the circulating medium, which within the last
forty years, have destroyed so much capital,
and caused the ruin of so many innocent in-
dividuals in 1793, 1811, 1815, 1818, 1824—6,
the mischief originated in the misconduct or im-
prudence of the Bank of England."—*London*
Quarterly Review, vol. 47, p. 418.

Nor does the history of the late Bank of the
United States afford any grounds for the sup-
position that a National Bank will be always
managed with ability. It was notoriously on
the verge of bankruptcy during the first year of
its existence. In 1826 the whole country was
on the brink of ruin, according to the confession
of its President, who, by the way, has fully failed
to discern the signs of the times in the late
crisis, or has willfully misstated them.

Of three presidents of that bank, one has been
incompetent, one devoted merely to the inter-
ests of the stockholders, and only one (Mr.
Cheves) who has felt his responsibility to the
public as the manager of a great national in-
stitution.

Nor would the establishment of a National
Bank have hastened the resumption of specie
payments. The re-charter of the old bank
could not have had that effect—for it was itself
involved in the general catastrophe and was a-
mong the last to resume. The chartering of a
new bank could not have hastened the resump-
tion as that was effected almost as soon as a new
bank could have been put in operation.

The Independent Treasury, then, was recom-
mended. It is a plan so simple in its details, so
republican in its nature, and so practicable in all
its operations, that judging from the character
of the measure itself, no opposition to it could
have been justly apprehended. If it does not
propose a direct control over the state institu-
tion, it deprives them of a powerful stimulant to
over action. But this is the very ground of ob-
jection to it. All the false alarms of the in-
crease of executive patronage and of the ex-
penses of the Government, charged upon this
measure, all the miserable slang about one cur-
rency for the government and another for the
people, are merely expedients to conceal the
real ground of attack. The banks want the
public deposits as a basis for discounts. It is
this that has banded them together in a crusade
against the Government. It is this, that has
filled the land with these imaginary terrors; and
has discovered in this safe and republican mode
of keeping the revenues, nothing but the chains
of the despot and the frauds of the delinquent.

But the devising a safe mode of keeping the
public revenues was only a part of the duty de-
volved on the government in its emergency.
The country was in distress and called upon
the administration for relief. There was a
want of a sound circulating medium to be re-
ceived into and paid out of the public Treasury,
and that want was to be supplied. We need
not say with what alacrity the administration
yielded to the request of a portion of the public
debtors, pressed down at once by the exigencies
of the times and the disasters of a great con-

flagration to postpone the payment of their
bonds; when the Treasury itself was in want
of available funds; and was daily denounced as
bankrupt. Nor need we stop to defend the
constitutionality or the policy of issuing Treas-
ury Notes—relieving at the same time the em-
barrassments of the government and supplying
the community with a medium of payment.
These measures were the result of common
benevolence and foresight—which not to have
adopted, would have implied insensibility and
weakness; but which being adopted, give no
claims to superior wisdom—we will not stop
even to animadvert upon the course of our op-
ponents in relation to this last named measure.
Let the conduct of the two parties on this oc-
casion go down in history; and impartial pos-
terity judge between them.

But there is one measure of the adminis-
tration in this trying crisis that we cannot pass
over in silence. We allude to the determination
early expressed and resolutely maintained, not
to receive a depreciated currency in payment of
the public dues. This is the secret of the
speedy resumption and of our returning pros-
perity. It required indeed much firmness to
adhere to it. Threats of resistance and rebel-
lion were uttered by those who would now per-
haps blush to be reminded of them. But the
law was plain, and the expediency of enforcing
it, obvious. The administration could not have
abandoned it without a violation of duty. Let
us suppose for a moment, however, that these
threats had prevailed—that the doors of the
Treasury had been opened to this flood of dis-
honored paper. Where now would have been
the hopes, much more the reality, of resump-
tion and returning prosperity? Is there an in-
dividual of all those who threatened to force the
paper upon the government who now wishes
that his remonstrances had been complied with?
No, fellow citizens, these severe reverses of for-
tune, are not unattended with many profitable
lessons. They rebuke, the insolence of pros-
perity, and teach the wise not to be over-confi-
dent in their wisdom. Who now will say that
specie payments cannot be restored without the
aid of a National Bank? Who, hereafter, will
threaten resistance and rebellion for being il-
legally compelled to pay a ten per cent. postage
in specie.

But these difficulties are passed away and
we are in the midst of prosperity. Let us not
forget in this season of exultation "the Pilot that
weathered the storm." It was his fortune to
enter upon the duties of his office at a period
when the tempest that had long been gather-
ing in the horizon was just ready to burst upon
our heads. With what fortitude he has borne
himself under it; with what cheerfulness he
has endured the unparalleled abuse poured out
upon him, you need not be reminded. His eu-
logy is, however, of a loftier character. He
has tasted the sweets of power and has been
unseduced by its blandishments. He has put
to hazard, his interest, his interest, his popular-
ity, his reputation, itself, in adhering to the path
of duty. He this day has his reward. He
lives in the affections of a free people. He has
secured to himself that immortality as a states-
man which, from henceforth, the defence of
popular rights can alone bestow. In after
times when the history of our republic shall be-
come the text book of freemen, and the exam-
ple of its founders shall be held up to the imi-
tation of an admiring posterity—one of the
brightest pages in its annals will be inscribed
with the name of VAN BUREN. The conse-
quences of the present struggle will not be con-
fined to the finances and economy of the coun-
try. It is, in a moral political point of view that
the project of keeping and disbursing the pub-
lic money without the agency of a National
Bank, is most deserving of attention. Whilst
it is incumbent on the government to watch over
the interests and encourage the industry of
its citizens, it is no part of its duty to concern
itself with the management of their private af-
fairs. Under the protection of wise and equal
laws, the resources of the country will be de-
veloped with a rapidity that will satisfy the ex-
pectations of the most enthusiastic patriot.—
But it is mistaken in policy; as well as false in
doctrine, to suppose it the duty of government
to open a broker's office for the sale of ex-
change, for the purchase of protested, or non
protested drafts. Such is not the genius of our
government. It has a higher occupation and a
nobler destiny. A sovereign over sovereigns,
the nature of its duties corresponds to its elevat-
ed character. It sends forth its navies to pro-
tect our rights on the ocean. It embattles its
legions for the defence of our frontiers. Its
ministers represent the dignity of the nation ab-
road. Its courts preserve harmony and ad-
minister justice between the different parts of
the nation at home. It protects the property of
the whole community, by establishing an uni-
form standard of value by which all contracts
are to be measured, and to which every citizen
may appeal. But it should not descend from its
lofty position, to boggle for gain in the market—
to conduct the business of individuals, or estab-
lish a great moneyed corporation to transfer their
funds.

The Independent Treasury, then, is calcu-
lated to restore the government to its constitu-
tional purity and dignity. It dissolves its unwar-
rantable and impolitic connection with the private

We will not stand before the great ocean of truth and presumptuously command its roaring waters to flow up no farther. We know that our country and her institutions must be either advancing to a higher degree of perfection in moral and political excellence, or be falling back into the depths of ignorance and vice.—Our motto is, Advance. We wish to preserve our institutions in the only way they can be preserved, by improving them—by adapting them to all the wants of the community as they

Will this measure be sanctioned by the people? We do not doubt it. Believing it to be of vital importance to the preservation of our liberties, we have the same confidence in the accomplishment of the one that we have in the stability of the other. Nor have we as yet seen any ground of discouragement. No great reform was ever brought about, but by time and labor, amidst difficulties and opposition, through doubts and defeat. When this measure was first proposed by our Chief Magistrate, we were well aware of the violence with which it would be assailed. But we looked with confidence to the intelligence and patriotism of the People, for its final success. Fortunately it is for the country, that so large a proportion of our

Fellow citizens of Massachusetts, your State is a constituent part of a great system of government, which, more than any other the world ever saw, attracts the attention and awakens the hopes of mankind. To the lovers of freedom throughout the earth, to those who believe in the progress and ultimate improvement of our race, but who are still suffering under the oppression of despotism, it is a system full of promise and consolation — radiant with the beams of future glory and assuaging the pangs of present disappointment by the assurance of a splendid triumph hereafter. But to you who live under its propitious influences it is of far deeper interest and imposes upon you the most solemn obligations. It involves every thing that is dear to you as freemen, as patriots, and as men. But in the opinion of a majority of your number as expressed at the ballot boxes, this system has utterly and signally failed during a large part of its existence, of securing to you the blessings of a good government; and the rulers of our nation have been daily censured by the dominant party of this commonwealth as corrupt, imbecile and profligate; and at war with all the real interests of the country and sacrificing the public welfare on the Altar of a low personal ambition. The tendency of these denunciations cannot be mistaken. If the affairs of the country have been thus corruptly administered during a large part of our national existence the conclusion irresistibly follows, that there must be something wrong in the nature and constitution of the government itself—for it is of the very essence of a good government to be well administered. Fellow citizens are you ready to come to this conclusion? Do you really believe that this experiment of popular government has failed, and that all the hopes with which it has inspired mankind are to be blasted? If you do thus believe, go on with your opposition. You owe it to yourselves, your country and the world, to disabuse mankind of this glorious delusion. But if, as we are sure, you are not ready to adopt this conclusion, if you still believe in the practicability & excellence of our popular institutions it is your duty to consider how far you will suffer yourselves to be drawn into an opposition, that implies a radical and fatal error in our theory of government. The example of your political leaders is no justification of this opposition.—When time has dispelled the illusions of faction, their conduct will appear in its true light and the only epitaph recorded on their tombs will be, Here lie the men who were born under the only free government upon earth, but who lived and died opposing it.

The Democracy of New England have reason to be proud of Mr Woodbury, and the vindictive abuse which has been poured upon him by the Federal party, will only serve to endear him still more to those who have always regarded him, whether in the Cabinet or the Council, as the *sheet anchor of New England Democracy.* *Saco Democrat.*

But the influence of ancient usages and abuses upon the destinies of the degraded and enslaved millions, has been less benign; and they cannot be expected to contemplate those abuses with the same favor. Hence two parties. The one, holding power and privilege by virtue of ancient usages, anxiously upholding their wis-

The Democracy acknowledge no leaders, they rush where freedom points the way; not solitary and alone, they need no coaxing, and will have no driving, for they understand the worth their equality ensures, of thought, of speech, and of action. Their best freedom they mean for their servants, and they do not believe them few—can these men be conquered? As well might you attempt to move the earth. Their principles have always existed, and have been nourished in every clime and country, oppressed and beaten down, at last a foothold was obtained, afar from the corruption of the old world, a foundation upon the solid rock was laid, an immense edifice erected, that must always be our glory, and a beacon flame to guide the old world from their mazes of political darkness, to the light of Republican liberty.

New Stove.—A Stove has been invented in New York, called the "poor man's stove," which the patentee offers to furnish, together with the pipe, and wood enough to burn through the winter, for *fifteen dollars*. This "cuts out" the "Radburn," "Bataly," "Prophecy" &c.
Bath Telephone.

identical Chair.—

From
THE A
The federalis
almost extermin
election in Mai
themselves by
their success in
second trial, i
which gave Lu
Atlas even sung
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